

# Weekly National Intelligencer.

WASHINGTON: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1864.

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By GALE & SEATON.

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## MILITARY EMANCIPATION AT THE SOUTH.

From recent indications it is easy to perceive that the drift of public opinion in the South is rapidly settling in a direction which points to the ultimate employment of negroes as a means of recruiting the strength of the insurgent armies. Much hesitation has preceded and still attends the discussion of the topic, but when, as we are informed, the highest military authority in the South has given in his adhesion to the proposition, we may be sure that the popular judgment will readily yield its assent to his recommendation.

At the North speculation is rife with regard to the probable results of such a determination on the part of the Southern leaders, should they carry it into effect, and actually recruit the insurgent armies from the negro population. Will it prove a source of strength or of weakness to the Southern cause? On this subject opinions are divided, though the preponderant sentiment seems to be in favor of the latter view, especially among those who support the policy of the Administration. As the destruction of slavery is held to be the paramount means for the suppression of the rebellion, if not the paramount end of the war, they reason that, so far as regards the beneficent result, it can be of little consequence whether the system of slavery is overthrown by the military force of the United States or undermined by the policy of the insurgents. In either event the slaves will be emancipated, and after that the Union will take care of itself.

There is one class of citizens in the Loyal States who must necessarily look with apprehension upon the new policy contemplated by the Southern authorities. We allude to those who believe that our Government has mainly assured its immunity from a foreign intervention in our civil war by the steps which it has taken on the subject of slavery to identify itself with the cause of emancipation. When the Southern States, under the pressure of a military necessity, shall have "laid a strong hand on the colored element," there will be no difference in the policy of the two parties on this subject, and there will be as little difference in the motives which have led to its adoption as in the results of the policy respectively adopted by each. For Mr. LINCOLN has avowed that he obtained from military emancipation until an "indispensable military necessity" seemed to constrain this step; and the employment of slaves in the Southern armies is based on precisely the same ground. To this effect Mr. Lincoln wrote in his letter to Col. Hodges, of Kentucky, under date of last April 4th, as follows:

"When, early in the war, Gen. Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, Gen. Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, Gen. Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the Border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation, and arming the blacks, would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either emancipating the Union, and with it the Constitution, or laying a strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it I hoped for greater gain than loss; but this I was not entirely correct. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations; military force—no loss by it in any way or where. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men, and we could not have had them without the measure."

And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms, and in the next that he is for making these hundred and thirty thousand men of the Union from the colored element, and where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his cause as stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

Among those who believe that our Government is largely indebted to its policy of military emancipation for its exemption from European intervention, we may cite the authority of Mr. Everett, who, at the meeting of the Massachusetts Electors College, took occasion to endorse the view of Mr. Stephens, the insurgent Vice President, on this subject. Mr. Everett said:

"There is now really no one question which divides those who hold, in good faith, that the military power of the nation must be subordinated, and the Union preserved at all hazards. A divide, of course, to the policy of emancipation. And will not our opposing friends who so warmly disapprove that policy, and who think it creates an insuperable obstacle to the restoration of the Union, reconsider that opinion, on perusal of the reasons which led to the adoption of the policy of the Confederacy, written on the 5th of November, three days before the election—a private letter, but published by himself—by far the most important utterance, on this subject, which has reached us from the South."

In his letter Mr. Stephens (the ablest civilian in the Confederacy) assigns the reasons why he desired the election of Gen. McClellan. In that event he assumed that an armistice would take place and a Convention of the States be held. If that body failed to come to an amicable agreement, to acknowledge the independence of the South, and Gen. McClellan should renew the war, with the avowed object of restoring the Union with the old Constitution and all its guarantees, (which by his letter of acceptance he was pledged to do,) "at that moment," says Mr. Stephens, "or as soon as possible, our recognition abroad would come. The silent sympathy of England, France, and other European Powers, at present with Lincoln, arises entirely from their anxiety on the subject of slavery." Here follows an omission in Mr. Stephens's letter, made as he himself intimates from public considerations. The passage omitted is no doubt: "on the day that if the North continued the war in order to restore the Constitution with guarantees of slavery, Europe would instantly recognize the Confederacy as an independent Power. Mr. Stephens then proceeds as follows:

"Lincoln had either to witness our recognition abroad, the moral power of which alone he saw would break

down the war, or to make it a recognition war. He chose the latter alternative, and the more readily because it chimed in so accurately with the feelings and views of his party. This in my opinion, is the plain English of this whole matter; and just as the old Constitution showed the war to be a war of power and influence, so the new Powers show that they are not certain that they would not go further rather than see the old Union restored, if it should become necessary; but it would not become necessary."

In these explicit terms the second officer of the rebel Government speaking no doubt on the strength of communications from agents abroad, and holding back what he deemed it not prudent to divulge, not only treats the emancipation policy of the President as a necessary military measure, but maintains that there were and are the great powers of Europe from recognizing the independence of the South, and, if necessary, throwing their swords into the scale to secure its establishment! May we not reasonably hope, in view of such opinions and disclosures from a high quarter, that this policy will cease to divide opinion at the North and that we shall again, as in 1861, present an undivided front in defence of the integrity of the Union."

Of course, if there be any force in these views of Mr. Everett, as re-enforced by the authority of Mr. Stephens, the moral superiority of our position in the eyes of Europe will be greatly weakened by the contemplated action of the insurgent leaders, in virtually placing themselves on the same plane of military emancipation under pressure of military necessity. The difference on this subject between the two parties to the war will have been merged by the drift of events, making them equally tributary to the destruction of slavery from considerations of military advantage.

It will be remembered that the Richmond Enquirer, in recently discussing the relations and aspects of this question, intimated the opinion that there was some connexion between the decision that should be made of it and the question of European recognition or intervention. It said:

"Whenever we are reduced so low that we cannot maintain the contest, then we are driven to making by the sacrifice of slavery. But until we are prepared to make this sacrifice it is no use to look to Europe for help, either by recognition or intervention. All the military authorities, those who command the armies and those entrusted with the administration of the conscript bureau, are agreed that if these nations shall answer demands, then we submit that a crisis is upon us that demands the alternative of subjugation without slaves or independence by arming the negroes."

If it be asked whether we share the views of the Enquirer on this topic, we have only to say that we believe the neutral position of foreign Governments in our war was assumed in obedience to general considerations of international obligation and advantage, and has not been sensibly controlled in one way or another by the varying aspects of our struggle in the matter of slavery. Hence, as we do not suppose that the particular policy of military emancipation adopted by the Administration has procured for us any such immunity as Mr. Stephens or Mr. Everett imagines, we just as little share the opinion of the Richmond Enquirer when it intimates that foreign Governments will be influenced in any degree to depart from the policy of non-intervention by the Confederate adoption of the policy of military emancipation.

## DEATH OF THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

The Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle, known to Americans as Lord Morpeth, died in England on the 5th of December.

George William Frederick Howard, K. G., Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard, of Morpeth, and Baron Dacre, of Gillingham, was born in England on the 15th of April, 1802. He was the eldest son of the sixth Earl, Lord Morpeth was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and displayed remarkable ability and force of intellect at an early age. Before he graduated he wrote two University prize poems, and obtained the highest classical honors with his degree.

Lord Morpeth entered public life as member of Parliament for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and took his seat with the Whig party, which numbered in its ranks Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, the Earl of Durham, Daniel O'Connell, and the leading Irish Catholics. The young peer continued to act and vote with the men of his party, by whom he was soon classed as a standard-bearer. When Lord Melbourne formed a Cabinet, after the accession of Queen Victoria, Lord Morpeth was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, which office he held down to 1841. He was universally beloved by the people of that country, and his popularity with the masses was second only to that enjoyed by O'Connell himself.

When the Whigs returned to power in 1846, Lord Morpeth was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, and soon after succeeded Lord Campbell as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

About this period he set out for America, and completed an extensive tour in the United States, since which time his name has been well known to our citizens, and is associated with many pleasing recollections. In the infancy of its present maturity, so that the peer performed a large portion of his journey by stage. Kidding one day on a New England stage, his lordship had the box seat, and after a ride of some hours, the driver was surprised to find that the nobleman had taken "the ribbun" and "bow" the concern for awhile. The driver refused, observing that his horses were spirited and would not break a stranger. The passenger assured him of his capability, and promised to "stand fast" at the next halting place. Handling him the reins, the driver was surprised to find that the nobleman had taken "the ribbun" and "bow" the concern for awhile. The driver refused, observing that his horses were spirited and would not break a stranger. 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